701 found harsh measures the only remedy.

With these qualifications, the quantity involved in a military camp of a provincial "Ras" (lit. head, actually marshall of high nobility as well as traditional leader of military forces of a province) would consist of several thousand soldiers; plus a huge ring of huts of camp followers, artisans, impressed local gabbar", their womenfolk serving as combination cook-concubine, and thornbush corrals for pack mules and donkeys. It resembled a medieval European army encamped, but with Middle Eastern and African overtones.

For example, the Ras himself would have to make frequent personal inspection tours of storehouses and major activities, if he did not want disorganization. In his presence, his men would fall all over themselves, running to carry out his orders instantly, to curry his favor. In his absence, his officers and men would relax after the fashion of free men, to their way of thinking. A chief, asked about the number of men under his command, would reply "many", not so much for reasons of concealment and pride (i.e. "the number of my men is without end"), but because he often did not know, nor care. However he knew exactly how many rifles he had in his command.[72]

● 712 The inner center of the camp contained the big, round tent ("das", tent of joy) of the "ras"; a guest and banquet tent for noble visitors ("adarash"); the tent of the sacred "tabot" (wooden tablet from the Holy of Holies of a church) and the chief

72. Grieule, M.: Le Travail en Abyssinie. Revue Internat. du Travail, 23, Fev. 1931, p.5.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

712 clergy; storehouse for the best military and civilian equipment ("eqa byet"); and the separate food establishments of the household of the ras: meat hut ("sega byet"), mead hut ("täj byet"), cooking hut ("wot byet"); and the baking hut ("anjära byet").

712 701 In front of this center, the bodyguard was encamped, led by the "dajazmach" (lit. guardian of the gate), the highest rank after the "ras", usually a young nobleman aspiring to the higher rank upon the death of the "ras" who was usually his kinsman, sometimes his own father. To the right of the center camped the "qänyazmach" (lit. guardian of the right), the next highest rank, who, in battle, commanded the right flank of the attacking army. To the left of the center camped the "gerazmach" (lit. guardian of the left), next in rank, commander of the left flank of the attacking army.

701 All these commanders belonged to high notility, in this order, and were granted conquered lands, quantity and quality of the land being allocated as fiefs in the order of rank. Sometimes "battlefield commissions" would reward an individual military officer of commoner origin, and elevate him to "gerazmach", with rights to an appropriate fief. More often the gerazmach was a distant kinsman of the ras, perhaps a "poor relation".

Each of these nobles commanded a division that included cavalry, which consisted of "färäsenya" (lit. horsemen, i.e. knights), whose services were usually

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

701 rewarded by a "gu̇ṫeṉṉa" fief. Their immediate commander in frontal attack was a military officer, "fitawrari" (lit. advance guard), a high rank of military nobility, and the starting rank of all young nobles upon reaching military age. Common soldiers, who did not own a horse and a rifle necessary to elevation to knighthood, made up the infantry. They were the last to benefit from the division of lands,

701 712 In camp, the cavalry usually ringed the center of feudal nobility and bodyguard. Outside this ring were the numerous lean-to huts ("gojo") or somewhat sturdier "sa̤qa̤la" huts of the common soldiery, their hearths of rocks, and their concubine-cook womenfolk. Each minor chieftain imitated his superiors by grouping retainers around his tent,with himself at the top of a little social, hierarchical pyramid, He acted the "telleq sa̤w" (lit. great man), generous in his rewards, but terrible in his anger. He might wear a lion mane.

Thus the camp consisted of three concentric rings, much as did the church, which may or may not have been a coincidence, but which to this day dominates the traditional Amhara view of feudal organized society. In fact, the "tabot" from the Holy of Holies, inner sanctum of the church, was physically represented inside the innermost center of encampment, serving as militarySchapel.

Special privilege characterized the second circle, much like the "ma̤qda̤s" of the church reser-

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

701 712 ved to the priesthood. Within the second circle of military encampment, protected by the ring of cavalry, were housed the "bajirond" (treasurer-quartermaster-ordnance), scribes, artisans of all kinds, chamberlains ("aggafari") serving the high nobles, the military police ("zäbäña", lit. watchmen), the thornbush corrals of battle horses and the horse watchmen, cookhouses, and latrine areas for the privileged centers.[72]

The rear of the camp, as well as the rear guard during march, (called the "däjän sefra"), was usually commanded by the most trustworthy, noble councilor of the king or ras; his title was "Blatengëta" (lit. Councilor), a semi-civilian title about equivalent to Dejazmach. But unlike the latter, it was usually held by an older, wiser, less tempestuous, slow-moving gray-bearded friend of the commander-in-chief.

701 566 B. Social and Psychological Roles in Military Life: Noble Officers and Common Soldiers.

The location in camp of military officers and men thus indicated the social position of feudal nobles, soldier fief-holders, and "gabbar"-sharecroppers in civilian life. The rank-order can be listed, with some simplification, as follows:

72. Griaule, M.: Un Camp Militaire Abyssin. Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Tome IV, 1934, pp. 117-122.

632 not far from the market. A smaller daily market for retail items would develop, so commerce proceeded even on a daily basis. A larger church school, to include some higher grades, would be set up by priests and Däbtära (scribe-choristers).

632 712 On account of the floods in the rainy season, most of this town would be on a higher level, preferably a butte overlooking a river valley from which drinking water could be brought every day. On this fertile flood plain, just below the town, there would be some grass even at the gheight of the dry season, so that the cows owned by urban citizens would always find some pasture.

[423] On this floodplain a "commons" was set aside, which no [485] one could "enclose" for private use. It was called "addäbabay" or even "yähezb addäbabay", and served as camping place for caravans, for temporary storage space of their goods and their mules, donkeys or camels, prior to the slow climb up the butte to the Saturday market. This arrangement also had the advantage of military security for the town, protecting it from sneak attack of an enemy under guise of a caravan, which was not permitted to proceed upward into town until dawn. For the Amhara town, unlike the Muslim towns in the south, were not walled.

632 651 This arrangement also permitted the "nägadras" the collector of duties for the central power of the province, to keep control of the merchandise entering and leaving the market.

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

Buddleia, a large St. John's Wort and a handsome red Aloe, comes out in the course of the year. There is a very striking giant thistle (*Echinops*). During the rains lilies, orchids, and red-hot-pokers (*Kniphofia*) come up in plenty. Many typically temperate genera occur in the mountain grasslands, examples being a low-growing wild rose, ladies' mantle (*Alchemilla*) and mullein (*Verbascum*).

The lower plateau, which is the more extensive part and the only type of country seen from the motor road, is comparatively flat and therefore has naturally been traversed at all times by the main routes between north and south. The streams meander through broad, shallow valleys which, being swampy and almost impassable in the rains, are uninhabited, but much used for grazing. The main streams, following the dip of the lava beds, flow north-west. Well-marked tributaries are few, and after heavy rain the water simply drains away over the general surface. Here and there are small secondary plateaus, standing two to three hundred feet above the general level; their slopes where not too steep are well populated and their flat tops largely under cultivation. Good examples are the village areas of Fajji and Aloberet shown on the map. These small plateaus, as well as all the edges of gorges in the north-west corner of the sheet, are capped with a very hard layer of basalt which (as I found to my great annoyance when making the compass survey) contains an abundance of magnetic iron. A hundred years ago, as several travellers have recorded, these rocks were used for iron-smelting, but the industry has long since been abandoned.

As we follow the streams upwards into the higher part of the plateau the character of the country changes. The broad plains narrow down and disappear, and the streams, more recently entrenched, flow in narrow valleys and little ravines; some of them might be thought quite striking if it were not for the severe standard of comparison afforded by the huge gorges below. The country is broken up into hills, usually steep-sided and flat-topped, and rocky hogsbacks. This kind of country is to be seen in the south-east corner of the sheet. The most interesting feature here is the wedge of country left standing up between the Beressa river and its large tributary the Maka. It has been cut away sharply on either side and forms, in its narrower part, a high ridge between the valleys. One of the highest points was appropriated long ago for a fort (near the village of Dilila) and was again used as such, by both parties at different times, during the Italian régime. The other high point (a prominent hill farther to the south-east, near the edge of the sheet) has recently been crowned with a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel.

The third and most interesting type of country is that of the gorges, which cut into the almost level plateau with such remarkable abruptness that they resemble scoopings in a lump of cheese made with a sharp-edged gouge. At the head of each gorge the streams form a series of falls, or in some cases a single big fall of 400 feet or so; even higher falls, up to 600 feet, can be seen elsewhere. Everywhere the upper walls of the gorges, which are basaltic, fall precipitously, and often form vertical cliffs several hundred feet high. So sharply defined are these gorge-edges that a heedless person walking on the plateau might, in some places, fall over them into the abyss. The walls do not however drop away continuously to the stream at the bottom; at a certain level, or in some valleys at more than one level, a horizontal shelf is

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

Ababa and Debrá Berhan remains Galla country. The Amharas have re-occupied the region immediately around Debra Berhan, their southern limit corresponding roughly with the edge of the sheet; but the churches built to meet their needs (including the new St. Gabriel already once mentioned) are comparatively few and far between, a confirmation of the recent date of the re-colonization.

The Gallas remained in possession of the plateau country until the early nineteenth century when Sahele Selassie, king of Shoa, began to push them back. The half-dozen hill-top forts shown on the sheet almost certainly date from this time, or were reoccupied then. The capital of Shoa since the eighteenth century had been Ankober, on the edge of the great eastern escarpment, some 20 miles east of Debra Berhan. But Sahele Selassie, as part of his anti-Galla campaign founded, in about 1830, a new capital at Angolala in the midst of Galla country. He thereafter divided his time between Angolala and Ankober. A largely disused track, still well-defined in most parts, is shown crossing the sheet from Angolala in an easterly direction; this was evidently an old route joining the two capitals. Harris,[1] who conducted a British Mission to Sahele Selassie in 1841–42, visited Angolala which then contained four or five hundred huts. He also describes Sahele Selassie's two-storied "palace," built by an Albanian [2] visitor, standing on an eminence—which however the king would not inhabit, from fear of earthquakes. Angolala continued to be used by Sahele Selassie's son, king Haile Malakot, and the great Menelik, who was Haile Malakot's son, had been born here in 1843—just after the time of Harris's visit.

Not much remains now to show that Angolala was so recently the twin capital of Shoa; but the site of Sahele Salassie's house, an artificial mound crowning the ridge, is easily identified and commands a fine view of the countryside. Inside the mound is a vaulted cellar, its masonry showing clear signs of European workmanship, as also does the central stone-built element of the local church of Kidane Meheret. This work is now exposed to view as the church was burnt down during the Italian occupation. Angolala remains a well-populated area, but only a very few huts now stand among the remains of defensive walls near the old royal residence.

The young Menelik, up to the age of twelve, must have known all this country well. But at that time (1855) the newly crowned emperor Theodore, whose ambition was the unification of Ethiopia after a century and a half of anarchy and internal strife, came down from the north with the object of subjecting Shoa to his personal rule. He defeated king Haile Malakot on the plains of Atakilt, the irrigated area just south-east of Debra Berhan. Haile Malakot died immediately after the battle, and Menelik was carried away captive by Theodore—who, however, afterwards treated him as a son rather than a prisoner. For some years Menelik followed in the emperor's train, moving with him from Gondar to Debra Tabor and then to the hill-fortress of Magdala, Theodore's last capital and later the scene of his undoing. Several years before Napier's siege of 1868 Menelik had escaped from Magdala during, it is said, one of Theodore's periodic orgies. A youth in

[1] Harris, 'The Highlands of Aethiopia,' London, 1844.
[2] It is much more likely that Harris meant an Armenian.

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

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[End map II-A]

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

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[End map II-B]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

holy ark stands in the center of the church, an area restricted to priests and deacons and consecrated to the performance of the Mass. The second circle is reserved for those few who are privileged to partake of Communion—young children and rare adults who have been married according to the church laws. The third circle is where ordinary people stand during the Mass and where the clergy sing and dance on special holidays. The church itself stands in a compound ringed by an outer wall, representing still another grade of ritual impurity. Those who have eaten before the Mass or have had sexual relations the night before are not supposed to enter the church at all, and must stand outside the outer wall during services.

This spatial pattern is likewise found in the arrangement of people out of doors. The outstanding instance of this is the traditional organization of the military camp of a *negus* or *rās*. In the center of the camp is the large, round tent of the chief, together with tents for the holy ark, high-ranking visitors, and supplies. Around this central area the commanding officers are stationed. They in turn are encircled by the tents of the cavalry. Beyond this ring, finally, is an outer circle composed of the huts of the common soldiery.

Spontaneous arrangements along this line appear during festivals. The person or persons who sing or dance are placed in the center and the spectators form a circle around them. During religious celebrations this circle consists of priests and *dabtarā*. At some distance the laymen watch from an outer circle. Here, as in the home, church, and military camp, concentric circles serve to segregate people according to their place in some hierarchical order.

Society and Human Nature

The Amhara's conceptualization of the human order lends itself as a whole to being articulated in terms of patterns of concentricity and hierarchy. The sociological component of the Amhara peasant world view consists, on the one hand, of a series of notions centered on the individual self and his progressively wider groupings; and, on the other hand, of a series of distinctions which rank persons in accord with criteria of superior and inferior qualities.

The Amhara peasant tends to have a pronounced awareness of his personal ego. The boundaries of his person and property appear firmly marked in his mind and are more important to him than the boundaries of any of his social egos. He likes to live on his own land, at a good distance from neighbors. If he lives in a homestead with other relatives, he prefers to dwell in his own separate building. The Amhara's proverbial comment on the subject is that "Home and the grave are by oneself." He is sensitive about his personal belongings, quick to defend his rights, reluctant to accept suggestions, and inflammable over insults. His conception of the admirable